2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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of a wife to the deceased will take place at the grave-side. After this the woman is considered as related to the dead man's family. Later she will really marry, but no statement is made as to whether cattle are exchanged at the grave-side marriage.[1]

A Shilluk may have intercourse with the wife of any man whom he calls *uwa*, that is to say, his own brother by another mother, his father's brother's son, or his clansmen of his own generation. He may claim the same privilege from the wives of his own father (except his mother) and of all those men whom he addresses as *wa*. A father will know that his son is consorting with his wife, and will go to another hut and say nothing about it. The attitude of our informants could be expressed thus: "Why should the father object? Surely it is better that his son should do this than go to other women, when he would be obliged to pay the fine for adultery?"

With regard to access to the wife of an *uwa*, a young married man said that if he found that an *uwa* had been to his wife while he was away he might feel very angry, there might be bad talk, but that would be all. The chief would say to him, "He is your *uwa*. It is all right." And he would accept this, whereas if it had been a stranger he would try to spear him. A young unmarried man who was exercising his rights towards the wife of his *uwa* (actually his father's brother's son) said that his *uwa* (the husband) knew, and that he made no objection and was friendly towards him. A child of such a union always belonged to the woman's husband, and any idea of it belonging to the wife's lover was ridiculed.

Any attempt towards intimacy with the wives of *uma*, *umia*, *una*, *oka* or *kwa* would be considered worse than adultery, and it was believed that the partners in guilt would die. Mr. Heasty states that intercourse with the wife of an *ora* would be looked upon in the same way.

About the sixth month of pregnancy a wife leaves her husband —for intercourse should now cease—and returns to her parents' house, where her child is born. Hofmayr states that both husband and wife are "unclean" until a few days after the birth of the child,[2] while Westermann notes that it is considered shameful for a woman to conceive during lactation;[3] if such a thing occurs it is usually supposed to be due to adultery, presumably because conduct leading

[1] Op. cit., 293.
[2] Op. cit., 271. A pregnant woman is distinctly dangerous; we heard of the death of a child, already ill, whose death was attributed to the visit of a pregnant woman to the house.
[3] Op. cit., xxiii.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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to this result is reprehensible in a husband. We are not certain whether the wife leaves her husband during every pregnancy or only for the first, but there is no doubt that abstinence should always be maintained during the later months of pregnancy and during lactation. At the time of birth the husband will make enquiries about his wife, but he must avoid the house of his parents-in-law.

An experienced woman assists the mother at birth; she cuts the umbilical cord with a sliver of millet stalk and buries the afterbirth [1] outside the hut on the right of the doorway. The place where the afterbirth is buried is not marked in any way, lest an evilly-disposed person might dig it up and burn it. The exact result of such an action was not discovered, but if menstrual blood were burned the woman from whom it had flowed would become sterile. Before the midwife allows the young mother to nurse her first child she has to make confession of all her previous love affairs, lest she and the child should die. The husband, who is told the names of his wife's previous lovers, as a rule makes no complaint, for the confession refers to the time before marriage.

The infant must be exhibited to the father and other men, who will gather outside the hut to ascertain that it is not a monorchid (p. 99) or deformed; in either event it would be thrown into the river, with, according to Hofmayr, a sheep as offering.[2] Except on this occasion the child is not taken out of the house during the first month of its life, and not often during the second month. At the birth of every child a goat is killed and the skin rubbed smooth to form a mat for the infant.

Names are given soon after birth and often refer to some incident that occurred in the family. If the father were to dream of an ancestor the child would be named after him, but this occurrence seemed comparatively rare. The birth name is retained throughout life, but Westermann states that a man often acquires a second name later, usually that of a cow or an ox.[3] According to Hofmayr, names play an important role in the life of a Shilluk, just as they do among the Dinka. A girl keeps her name for life, but a boy is continually adding names; they play the part of "decorations", he may take

[1] Hofmayr states that the mother ties the cord round her body (op. cit., 273); we suppose this to refer to the dry stump that later drops from the child's body.
[2] Op. cit., 276.
[3] Op. cit., xxxvi. This obviously refers to the animal given to a lad by his father at manhood.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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and officiate in the ceremonies, but it is perhaps true to say that only the beasts for minor sacrifices (recovery from illnesses, etc.) are killed by them. Hofmayr states that the distinctive mark of the *bareth* is a necklace of disc beads of ostrich egg-shell, but that they also wear anklets of glass beads, white and green. The *bareth* eat the flesh of the sacrifices and drink the milk of the cattle belonging to the shrine; they are responsible too for the disposal of the bones of the sacrifice, which they cast into the river.

The contents of the *kengo* vary, but they always include certain sacred spears, called *alodo*, representing those used by Nyakang and his companions.

In 1910 we were told that one of the five huts of the Fenikang shrine was in a special sense the house of Nyakang, which he was thought to inhabit. It was distinguished by a number of very rough paintings on its outer wall, some of which could be recognized as representing animals, but we could not learn that the paintings had any special significance. Before the door of the hut were a number of horns of the cattle slain in sacrifice (in 1911 wrongly described as elephant tusks), their broad ends thrust into the ground; within there were said to be skins on the floor, as if for Nyakang to rest upon. Some of the "spears of Nyakang" (*alodo*) are kept here, and there is in this shrine an extremely sacred stool, which may be kept in this hut or may be preserved with some of the sacred spears and a number of elephant tusks in one of the other huts of the shrine, used by the guardians and for storing the millet brought as offerings when the crop is cut. In 1921 we were struck afresh with the resemblance of the shrine to a homestead, with exceptionally large huts; it had been rebuilt since 1910, when we first visited Fenikang, and there were now no horns in front of any hut. At this time (1921) the shrine had been entrusted by the king to the care of a most intelligent elderly Dinka woman, by name Aker—widow of the kings Kur and Fadiet—who was the chief priestess of the shrine. She had three huts and a cattle byre near the shrine; in one hut she kept her beer, and here millet was ground, the two others were for her slaves, who as well as her cattle were provided by the king. We are not certain whether she ever slept in the shrine. According to Shilluk custom Aker had left Kodok during her two pregnancies, but on neither occasion had she been sent to Fenikang; it is, indeed, improbable that a royal wife would be sent to a village containing a shrine, as it might be difficult to accommodate her cattle and those of the shrine attendants as well as the village beasts.

finished this, they go into the hut to eat. But the girl again refuses to eat. And metal ornaments are brought, and then she eats. The next day the women go out to bring fire-wood. When they come back, they put food on the fire, and spend the night in cooking. When they have finished cooking, they strain beer, and once more they besmear the enclosure with mud, and the hut also. The next day all the people come to drink beer. The drum is beaten, and the people dance. 539* 585

That is all; and a ram is brought, the ram is killed and eaten by the women. Now they (the female relatives of the bride) go home, and the bride remains (in the house of her husband) together with her aunt. She is given to her husband, and they live together. The aunt too goes home. 539* 591

When the wife is with child, a cow is sent to her relatives by the husband. Before this is done, her relatives (parents) say: "He (our son-in-law) is a bad man," and her father and mother are angry. But when the cow is brought, they are happy. And they say to the people who bring the cow: "Return to your family!" And they return. And they are sprinkled with water. And when the time comes that she is to be confined, she is brought to her family (to her parents; the child should be born in the home of the mother's parents). 539* 843 [814]

16. Burial.

Ţāŋ kɛt a ɡwɔ̀, ka ɡɛ̀ŋ dwɔ̀, ka ɡyɡ̀ŋ kwɔ̀, ka ɡɔ̀k fɔ́t, ka ɡyɡ̀ŋ ɡ̀, ka kɛ́ tátɛɡ̀, ka ɡyɡ̀ŋ mɔ̀k mák, ka ɡɔ́k fɔ́t, kɛ́ ɡ̀ŋ wéy ɡ̀ŋ; ka dɛɡ̀ kɛ̀l, ka ɡyɛ́k[1] leŋ, ka wɔ́ bɛdɛ̀ kɛ́ kɛ́l. Ká wɛ̀ɛ̀ kɛ̀l, ka chɔɔ́ɡ, kɛ́ jɛ́ chɛ̀ɛ̀k, ka jɔ́m kɛ̀ɡ̀r ɡwɔ́ɔ́k. Ka dɛ̀ɡ̀ kɛ̀l, ka tɡɔ́ kɛ̀l, ka kɛ̀ɡ̀r kɛ̀l, ka ɛ́ɛ̀ɡ̀ɛ kɛ̀l, ka líɔ́n kɛ̀l; ka tɡɡ́ kɛ̀ɡ̀ɡ̀ kɛ́ ɛ́ɡ́ɛ kwɔ́ɡ̀, mɡ́ɛ tɛ́t ɡɛ́w; ka ɡ̀ŋ tɔɔ́ɔ́k tɡɡ́ɛ ɡɛ́ɛ. Ká ɡɛ́ kɛ́ɡ̀ɡ̀, ka ɡɛ́ ɛ́ɔ́ɛ́ kwɔ́ɡ̀ɡ̀, ka kwɔ́ɡ̀ kɛ̀l ɡɛ́ ɡɔ́ɔ́k, ka wɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ tɡɡ́ kwɔ́ɔ́, ka tɡɡ́ kwɔ́ɔ́ kɔ: kɛ̀l kɛ́ɔ́k! Ka kɛ́ɔ́k kɛ̀l, ka ɡɛ́ kɔ: rɡɔ́ɔ́ ɡ̀ŋ! Ka rɡɛ́ kɛ́ɡ̀, ka ɡ̀ŋ rɛ́ɡ́m, ka rɡɛ́ kɛ̀l, rɡɔ́ɔ́ kɛ́ɡ́ kɔ́r ɡ̀ŋ. Ka ɡ̀ŋ a kwɛ́ɛ́, ka jɛ́ mɛ̀ɛ̀ɡ̀ ɡɛ́ kwɔ́ɔ́ɡ̀ ɡ̀ŋ, ka jɛ́ mɛ̀ɛ̀ɡ̀ ɡɛ́ɛ́k ɡɛ́ɛ́ɛ́. Ká ɡɡɛ́ɛ́ kɛ̀l, ka ɡɛ́r (rɛ́r), kɛ́ tɛ́t ɡɛ́m, kɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́ɡ̀ fɔ́t (talɛta). Ka ɡ̀ŋ dwɔ̀ kɛ̀l, ka chɡɡɡ́ chɔɔ́ɡ̀, ɣ mɛ̀ɛ̀ɡ̀ tɡɡ́ɛ́ ɡ̀ŋ, ka ɡ̀ŋ kɛ́ɛ́ɡ̀ wéy talɛta. Ka ɛ́ɔ́ ɡɛ́ɛ́ ɡɛ́ɛ́k tɡɡ́ɛ́ ɡ̀ŋ, ka ɛ́ɔ́ɛ́ɛ́ chɔɔ́ɡ̀, ɣ ɛ̀ɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́k. Ká kɛ́l kɛ̀l, ka dɛɡ̀ kɛ̀l, ka dɛɡ̀ ɡɛ́ɔ́ɛ́ leŋ; ka kɛ́l ɡɛ́ɔ́k. Ka jɛ́ ɡwɡ́ɛ́ŋ; a ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ fɛ ɡwɡ́ɛ́, ka jɛ́ wɛ́ɛ́k. Ka ɡɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́m, ka ɡ̀ŋ é rɛ́ɛ́k kɛ́ kwɛ́ɛ́k. Ka kɛ́k a kɛ́ɡ́, ka ɡɛ́ɛ́ kwɡ́ɛ́ɛ́ ɡɡɛ́, ka ɡɛ́ɛ́ dwɡ́ɡ́ɛ́ fɛ́ɛ́k. Ɔkwɛ́ɛ́ɡ́ kɛ̀l kɛ́ ɡɡɛ́ɛ́k, ka jɛ́ fɛ́ɛ́k kɛ́ ɛkwɔ́ɡ́ɡ́. Ka jɛ́ kɡ́ɡ́ fɛ́ɛ́k. Ka fɛ̀l ɛ́ɛ́ɡ́ mɛ́ɛ́k, ka kɛ̀l, ɛ́ɛ́ ɡɛ́ɛ́k kɛ̀ĺɛ́ jɛ́; jɛ́ a ɛ́ɛ́ɡ́ɛ́, ka jɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɡ́ɛ́ chɛ́ɛ́ ɡɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́. Ka mɡɡɡ́ dwɛ́ɛ́, mɡɛ́ kɛ̀ɡ̀ɛ kwɡɛ́ɛ́ ɡ̀ŋ kɛ́ kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɡ́. Ká ɡ̀ŋ́ɛ́ kɛ̀l, kɛ́ mɛ́ɡ́ɛ́ tɡɛ́ɛ́, ka mɡɡɡ́ kɛ̀l, kɡ́ɛ́ kwɡɛ́ɛ́ ɡ̀ŋ. Ka kɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɡ́ dwɛ́ɛ́, ka kɛ̀ɡ̀ɛ kwɡɛ́ɛ́ ɡ̀ŋ, kɛ́ mɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ kɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́, ka mɡɡɡ́ chɛ́ɛ́ɡ́ kɛ̀l, ka chɛ́ɛ́ɡ́ kɛ́ɛ́, ka mɡɡ́ chɛ́ɛ́ɡ́, kɛ́ kɛ́l ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́k, ka ɡ̀ŋ a wɛ́ɛ́k, kɛ́ ɡɛ́ɛ́ ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́m, ka ɡ̀ŋ ɛ́ɡ́ɛ́. Ka dɛɛ́m fɛ̀r, ka ɡ̀ŋ kɛ̀ɛ́ɡ́ kɛ́

[1] ɡɛ́ɛ́k ɡɛ́ kɛ́ɡ́.

15: Oyler M-5 (ca. 1918) 1926 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

the animal carefully, and he made his escape, and ran away. It was too much trouble for them to catch the animal, and so they went back to the old chief and demanded that he give them another animal in exchange for the one that had escaped. The new animal was given to them, and they departed. 425 431

Once some women went to dance before a chief, who was away from home. One of his followers, anxious to save the property of his master, took a whip made of hippopotamus hide, and used it freely on the women. They retreated to a considerable distance, and sat down to discuss the matter. At that time the chief returned, and he was distressed when he heard what his follower had done. He made peace with the women, and gave them the ox. [622]

Visitors from other villages are not supposed to go on these trips, nor are they allowed to eat of the meat when the animal is killed. When a woman is married and goes to the village of her husband, she is not allowed to go on these begging trips until after she has lived there a full year. The women might consent, but her husband would be angry, as it might lead to her being led astray. She does not have the right to return to her old home and go with her old friends on their begging expeditions. Women in the advanced stages of pregnancy are not permitted to go on these trips. 425 484 593 [843]

These dances are a great diversion for the women. They are looked upon as memorable occasions. The chief visited may not be in a financial position to afford to give the ox, and yet he gets full value for the animal in the prestige it gives him. 425 556 535

The women have another begging custom that is suggestive of Ruth. When a man threshes his grain he calls in the young men, who beat it out with flails. The women of the man's family winnow the grain. Often the man does not have enough women-folk to do all the work, and other women are called in to help. The helpers get all the grain that is left in the chaff as their portion. 476 462 241

Many women come to beg from the owner of the threshing floor. They do not speak to the owner of the floor, but they make a general statement that they have come to beg. They sit in silence, and watch the progress of the work. They do not ask for grain, but each woman keeps her gourd in a prominent position. When the threshing is finished, the owner of the field fills a basket with grain, and from that basket he 735 241

27: Munro U-5 (1918) 1918 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

any ostrich they may meet will stand until they have plucked the requisite feathers. Further they are believed to produce Nyakang from the river by stabbing a cow in sacrifice on the bank of the Nile).

When all was ready, Nyakang started on its journey with a large following and proceeded at a leisurely pace. The road is cleared for it from Kaka to Fashoda. It passed Kodok on 11th January 1918.

As Nyakang draws near, the selected Ret is supposed to go to Dabalu in Akwom and stay there for one night before the actual ceremony. In this specific instance Fafiti went to Akwom three days before the ceremony and was installed in Fashoda on the 4th morning. Different chiefs gave varying answers as to the number of nights which it was essential for the Ret to stay in Dabalu : it would appear however that the Ret really goes there when everything is nearly ready; but if for any reason some delay occurs, a day or two is considered immaterial, which is in accordance with all native Sudan custom. In the present instance I understand Ajang wad Amoich of Akwom, whose duty it was had neglected to give due notice to the Southern chiefs, and so Kwa Mal[1] only arrived on the 16th instead of two days earlier.

B. — NARRATIVE (JANUARY 17TH, 1918).

I arrived Fashoda about 7.30 a.m. While waiting I examined the shrine of Nyakang[2] from outside, and the temporary huts[3] built for the Ret,

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[1] Kwa (descendants of) Mal stated by Westermann, p. 198 to be founded by a man and woman, who came down from above. They left children on earth : their house is Malakal. They receive from the Ret the black bull over which the Ret steps before crossing the Khor; this is their reward for whipping on any that daily in following the Ret.

[2] The shrine of Nyakang consists of two well built circular mud huts with grass roofs surmounted by an ostrich egg and a spear blade. The whole is enclosed in a fence. The grey mud walls are painted in different coloured stripes with spots dotted on them as shown in Seligman's illustration of Nyakang at Famikang fig. 55. The guardian is an old ex-wife of the Ret; small children are also allowed to enter. No woman who is pregnant can enter the shrine. The guardian has a little hut apart.

[3] About 30 yards distant there is a practical miniature of the shrine, a temporary building completely made of grass especially erected for the Ret to live in after the installation prior to his going up to his real house on the mound.

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

Chapter IX

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS

796 I suppose that nowhere in the world do the important events which the newspapers group together under this heading go without some kind of celebration to mark them. The Shilluk are in this no exception to the rest of mankind. The importance of these occasions in human life and in the life of the tribe are recognized by them and made the occasion of traditional ceremonies, elaborate sometimes and exacting. Especially does the birth of the first-born child call [844] for celebration, since by proving the fertility of the marriage it gives hope of the founding of a new family and the continuance of the tribe.

000 As the time for the arrival of the first-born draws near any young married couple of whatever race or country is filled with conflicting emotions of hope and fear, assurance and doubt, joyful anticipation and misgiving. In communities more sophisticated than the Shilluk, the young expectant mother and her friends spend many happy hours making or purchasing the multitude of garments in which it is considered essential that a baby should be swathed, whilst the anxious father-to-be treats his wife as though she were some 844 delicate and rare piece of china. The Shilluk have their own very decided ideas about the place of the husband during this very important function of the birth of the first child. It cannot be tolerated that he should be continually in the way of busy women during, and for a considerable period before and after, this time, so he must keep his distance, the distance being that between his village and that of his wife's [591] parents from which he brought her at the time of their marriage. Custom decrees that about the sixth month of her • 843 pregnancy the young Shilluk wife must leave her husband's roof and 'go home to mother'. Father is callously left to

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

fend for himself during the intervening months, and he spends the time drinking bowls of beer and smoking pipes of rank tobacco with his cronies, discussing the many complexities of women and particularly that formidable mother-in-law of his whom he may never visit, may never even meet, even going to the length of turning aside from her path and averting his head should he chance to see her on the road. He dreams up, too, rosy dreams of his daughter, for it is always a daughter of course, who will be the apple of his eye and the pride of his life during her childhood and who will bring in many heads of fat cattle when she becomes of marriageable age.

On the day of the birth, a custom, of interest to all, but fraught with a certain amount of apprehension and anxiety to some, takes place. Before the mother is given her baby to nurse she must name publicly all her former lovers. Failure to do so, it is averred, will result in the death of the child, and should she refuse to confess she would not be given the baby at all, but it would be reared by a foster-mother. It may be that the girl can say with honesty that she has had no pre-nuptial amours, and that up to the time of her marriage she had preserved her virginity intact. Since the general character of such a girl would be fairly well known in her own village, her word would be accepted and she would be given the child. But if perchance the infant should die, it would be taken as a sign that she had lied. Unfortunately such paragons of virtue among Shilluk maidenhood are rather rare, and the term 'virgin' applied to a nubile girl has something of an unmeaning character, useful only in distinguishing her from her married sisters. Nobody then is in the least shocked or surprised when the girl recites a number of names of men with whom she has been before her marriage.

The men thus accused may either admit the charge or indignantly deny it. If a man admits his transgression he must pay the outraged husband three sheep or goats, or, if he is the father of the child just born, three cows. If he denies the accusation he undergoes a variation of 'trial by

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

dowry. The models are hung up in front of the hut and the ceremony is concluded with beer-drinking.

About a month later the child may be taken home to be shown to its father. The mother carrying the infant is accompanied by three or four girl friends and the old woman who attended her at the confinement. The father and his male relatives and friends inspect the baby outside the hut to satisfy themselves that it shows no deformity or any other abnormality. If such unhappily were the case, the child would be enclosed together with a live sheep in a basket and thrown into the Nile. When the father is satisfied that the child is normal, a goat or sheep is killed, the meat eaten at the ensuing feast and the skin scraped and softened to serve as a sleeping mat for the baby. Beer is prepared and the whole village invited to come to the party. Those who come, however, are expected to bring some small gifts of money, beads, bracelets and the like. These are the perquisites of the midwife, the beer makers and the girls who escorted the mother and child back to her home.

There are no special ceremonies for the birth of children after the first born, and the mother may or may not return to her father's village for her confinements as she pleases. There is however a little feast to celebrate the birth and, as before, a sheep or goat is killed and the skin used as the infant's sleeping mat.

During a woman's pregnancy neither she nor her husband is permitted to visit anyone who is sick. They are considered to be unlucky and their visit to a sick person would surely result in his death. The most that is allowed is that they may stand at the fence surrounding the house where the sick person is and enquire after him.

With reference to the custom of the young wife leaving her husband's home for her father's for the birth of her first child, it must be mentioned that the wives of the king, not merely on the occasion of their first born, but for all subsequent confinements, must leave Fashoda. They do not go to their former home, however, but to the village of some chief at a considerable distance from the capital. The child that is